



CLIMATE CHANGE, MIGRATION AND CONFLICT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This study explored the nexus between climate change and migration in Nigeria and its tendency to precipitate violent conflict as evidenced by herders-farmers conflict in Nigeria. witnessed currently in herders against farming communities. Using desk study, and eco-violence theory as a basis for analysis, it argued that a national strategy based on innovative sustainable development, security and adaptability is urgently needed to mitigate the vulnerability which if not checked, can plunge the country into extreme violence

Keywords: Climate change; resource scarcity; migration; conflict; insecurity

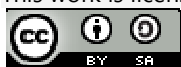
Introduction

Recently, environmental and climatic change related challenges are confronting mankind, and threatening his existence on earth. Issues such as desertification, depletion in natural resources, rising sea levels, global warming, record-breaking temperatures, drought, and other climate-related factors, have greatly impacted on migration and conflict trends globally. Consequently, the quest to understand the nexus between climate change, migration and conflict has increasingly become a global concern. Indeed, the phenomenon of climate change attracts more attention due to its diverse impacts worldwide. The far-reaching consequences of climate change have made it to be recognised as a major challenge to human security. The universal scope of climate change notwithstanding, the peculiarities of its impacts vary across regions, and are influenced by the varying socio-contextual and ecological specificities of each region. Consequent upon observed divergences, nowhere has this been more likely pronounced than in developing countries and Africa in particular, where the fragility of state institutions and the weakness of the economy have made the consequences of climate change more profound.

However, environmental change is not the only factor responsible for natural resource conflict and human migration. Other social factors like population increase, poverty, diseases, economic stagnation, or political issues may lead to migration. Accordingly, Ezirim and Onuoha(2008) argued that climate change is not a form of traditional threats to national security such as war, terrorism, insurgency, espionage or sabotage. Yet, the non-violent and dynamics of manifestation serve only to disguise the impact on livelihoods, social order, peace and stability.

Over the years, climate change has disordered the usual working of the ecosystem that interacts with humans, and affects how they access certain vital resources for survival. However, the

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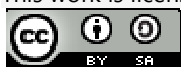




awareness created in 2007 debate by the African Union (AU) and the Security Council of the United Nations on the security implications of climate change in Africa aroused unusual attention and study on matters concerning the nexus between climate change, insecurity, and natural resources induced conflicts. The concerns on climate change, migration-conflict linkages stem from the increasing incidence of violent conflict arising from contestations among groups over climate-related declines in the availability of renewable natural resources (Buseth, 2009). In many developing countries where natural resources play a central role in populations' livelihood, the availability, access, and control often play a defining role in the social, economic and political interactions among groups (Alao, 2007). Under such circumstances, the conflict-inducing implications of climate change can be associated with its effects on the tangible or intangible but vital natural resources which sustain livelihood, as well as the changing forms, contexts and dynamics of social relations built around the resources. This is evident in the interaction between Fulani herdsmen and farming communities in Nigeria with incessant skirmish over access to grazing land and water in Benue, Plateau, Kaduna, Nassarawa, Kebbi, and Zamfara States. Also, the southward migration of the herders in search of pasture for their livestock is another issue to the tensed scenario in Cross River, Delta, Ekiti, Enugu, Imo, and Oyo States.

While some conflicts may arise between same resource user group such as between one farming community and another, others may occur between different user groups such as between herders and farmers or between foresters and farmers. Yet, farmers-herdsmen conflict has remained the most preponderant resource-use conflict in Nigeria (Adisa, 2012). Such conflicts may be due to population growth and the globalisation of the economy. For Olayoku (2016), climate change, the migration further south, the growth of agro-pastoralism, the expansion of farming along grazing routes, the invasion of farmlands by cattle, assault on non-Fulani women by herders, blockage of stock routes and water points, freshwater scarcity, among other others, are the causes of herders-farmers conflicts. Abass (2012) argued that the major source of tensions between pastoralists and farmers is basically economic, with land-related issues leading. Many studies on impacts of climate change on agriculture as they relate to food security, shared natural resources like water resources, land usage and migration pattern abound (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Lind & Sturman, 2002; Hirsh, 2007). However, this study explores the nexus between climate change and migration in Nigeria and its tendency to trigger violent conflict as witnessed in herders against farming communities in recent times. It also examines the implication of the Land Use Act of 1978 on the recurrent struggle between the herders and farmers over the acquisition and uses of land in Nigeria.

Against popular insinuations that ethnic and religious agenda are responsible for the constant clash between the Fulani herdsmen and Farmers, this paper argued that the conflict is economic based exacerbated by climatic factors. It further suggested that a national strategy based on innovative sustainable development, security and adaptability are urgently needed to mitigate the vulnerability which can be exploited to plunge the country into crisis as currently witnessed in herders against farming communities in Nigeria.





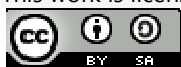
Conceptual and Theoretical Discourse Climate Change

This concept is divergently understood in different quarters by scholars (Barring, 1993; Pielke, 2004). The challenge is that “inconstancy” (Mitchell et al., 1966) is an inherent property of the climate system. Some people view climate change as “all forms of climatic inconstancy, regardless of their statistical nature (or physical causes)” (Mitchell et al., 1966). However, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (2007) gave a wider definition of climate change as any change in climate over time whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity. In contrast, the United Nation’s Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (2010) views it as a change of climate that is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere, and that is in addition to natural climate variability over comparable time periods. In other words, climate change refers to significant changes in global temperature, precipitation, wind patterns and other measures of climate that occur over several decades or longer.

Changes in the climate system occur in two ways: natural variability and anthropogenic activities (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2007). Natural climate change or nature-driven variability refers to changes caused by interactions among geophysical elements including the atmosphere, ocean, and land, as well as changes in the volume of radiation reaching the earth’s surface, which can be traced from past geological records. On the other hand, anthropogenic (human-induced) climatic change refers to changes resulting from human activities which lead to build-up of greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere. Some common greenhouse gasses include Nitrous oxide (N₂O), Carbon-dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), and fluorinated carbon contents which trap heat in the atmosphere (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2014).

Although the effects of human interference are instrumental to the increase in atmospheric greenhouse gas but there may be natural presence of certain amount of greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere. This natural greenhouse gas is required for the maintenance of a balanced combination of atmospheric gasses for the sustenance of life. In this regard, natural greenhouse gas performs stabilising functions in the mix of atmospheric gasses, and persisted for nearly 10,000 years prior to recent anthropogenic upsurge which dates back to the last two centuries (Rogers, 2008).

Some of the human activities which contribute to the build-up of greenhouse gasses and the changes in the climate system are burning of fossil fuels for the generation of electricity and industrial activities, felling of trees and clearing of forests for industrial development and urbanisation. The main characteristics of climate change are increases in average global temperature (global warming), changes in cloud cover and precipitation particularly overland, melting of ice caps and glaciers and reduced snow cover, and increases in ocean temperatures and ocean acidity because of seawater absorbing heat and carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. Climate change can cause species extinction and the displacement, decrease or loss of habitats,





which may lead to the deterioration of biodiversity and ecosystem services. Also, changes in ecosystems and ecosystem services affect agriculture, forests/forestry, fisheries, tourism, water resources, the life of citizenry and urban life. Although climate change is a global phenomenon but developing countries are the most vulnerable to its impacts because they have fewer resources to adapt socially, technologically and financially (Assan, Caminade, & Obeng, 2009). Conversely, some of them may have the resources but refuse to take appropriate measures. Thus, it may affect the sustainable development of developing countries and their ability to attain the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

Migration

The effort to define and conceptualize a widely accepted and consistent definition across board for environmentally induced migration and the consequent displacement of people because of acute environmental manifestation have been as controversial as the concept itself (Assan & Rosenfeld, 2012). Despite problems in formulating a uniform and clear-cut definition of “environmental migration”, the concept has become an issue of concern in contemporary time as policy-makers, environmental and social scientists attempt to unravel the potential societal effects of climate change and general environmental degradation. In order to consider a person as a climate refugee, nature or the environmental related issue must be responsible for the displacement or could be considered the persecutor. Thus, “climate refugees” or “environmental migrants” are people who are forced to leave their home region due to sudden or long-term changes to their local environment (Gemenne, 2006; Assan & Rosenfeld, 2012). These must be environmental changes which compromise their well-being or secure livelihood. Such changes include increased droughts, desertification, sea level rise, and disruption of seasonal weather patterns (i.e. monsoons). Climate refugees may choose to flee to or migrate to another country, or they may migrate internally within their own country. “Environmental migrant” is used somewhat interchangeably with similar terms like ecological refugee, environmental refugee, climate refugee, forced environmental migrant, environmentally motivated migrant, climate change refugee, environmentally displaced person (EDP), disaster refugee, environmental displace, eco-refugee, ecologically displaced person, or environmental-refugee-to-be (ERTB). International Organization for Migration (IOM) views environmental migrants as persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad.

Climate refugees or climate migrants are a subset of environmental migrants who are forced to flee because of sudden or gradual changes in the natural environment related to at least one of three impacts of climate change, namely, rising sea-level, extreme weather events, and drought and water scarcity. Myers’ (2001) definition which reveals the human security dimension describes environmental refugees as people who can no longer gain a secure livelihood in their homelands because of drought, soil erosion, desertification, deforestation and other environmental problems. In their desperation, the only option is to seek sanctuary elsewhere,





however hazardous the attempt. They may be forced across international borders (refugees) or within their country (internally displaced persons). Such movement is capable of triggering conflict between members of the host communities and migrants due to competition for available resources in the area.

Conflict

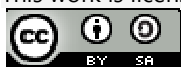
Because of the usage of the word “conflict” in different contexts, it requires clarification for better understanding. Accordingly, Chaplin (1979: 109) defines conflict as “simultaneous occurrence of two or more mutually antagonistic impulses or motives”. However, Deutsch (1973) views it behaviorally as an action which interferes, injures, prevents, obstructs, or renders ineffective another action considered incompatible. To Wallensteen (2002: 16), “conflict is a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strike to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources”. However, it can simply be summarised as a fight (Nwolise, 2003).

Conflict is competition over resources, contradiction over value systems, physiological needs of the people and manipulation of information (Albert, 2001: 4-5). It has both positive and negative consequences. From the positive perspective, it leads to constructive change, better understanding, cordial relationship, clarity of purpose and development. While negative perspective elicits destructive reaction and outcome, pains, violence and war.

From the above definitions, it is obvious that conflict is unavoidable outcome of human interaction arising from incompatible goals, needs, interests, ideas, views and values over shared resources, position and power. Deutsch’s (1973), and Wilson and Hanna’s (1979) works highlighted seven causes of conflict. One of which is the struggle for control over scarce natural resources that are essential to survival. This form of conflict may result from drought and desertification as livelihood systems of some people are affected by associated resources depletions which may push the people into new areas in their attempt to find alternative sources. Generally, competition over limited resources in any society is identified as one of the causative source of conflicts. Due to inadequate resources compared to the number of people and over increasing population often result to conflict. These resources include territory, power, money, food, shelter, grazing field, farming land, water, etc. Thus, the acquisition and distribution of these resources to various people or group often times lead to conflict.

Theoretical Perspective

Numerous theories that explain the nexus among environment, migration and conflict abound in conflict literatures. However, our effort will be limited to one of the most suitable theory that will guide and give a better understanding on the linkage between climate change, forced migration and herders-farmers conflict in Nigeria. Scholars such as Baechler, Percival and Homer-Dixon, and Gleditsch interrogated the link between environmental resources and conflicts and propounded the eco-violence/environmental scarcity theory. According to Homer-Dixon and Blitt (1998), resource scarcity arises because of insufficient supply, compared to the



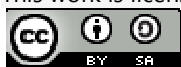


demand owing to unequal or uneven distribution of resources. The quest to share the available resources and the inability to meet the demand may lead to serious competition resulting to environmental destruction, hunger and violent conflicts. Thus, because of scarcity of the resources, unhealthy competition which ensues may trigger violent conflict.

Homer-Dixon (1999) used three hypotheses to link environmental challenges with violent conflict. First, he argued that decreasing supplies of physically controllable environmental resources, such as clean water and good agricultural land, would provoke conflicts. The second hypothesis stated that large population movements caused by environmental stress would induce "group-identity" conflicts, especially ethnic clashes. The third suggested that severe environmental scarcity would simultaneously increase economic deprivation and disrupt key social institutions, which in turn would cause "deprivation" conflicts such as civil strife and insurgency (Homer-Dickson, 1994). Environmental scarcity causes less food production, economic stagnation or decline, population displacement, and disruption of institutions and traditional social relations among people and groups (Homer-Dixon, 1998).

Based on eco-violent/environmental scarcity theory, three factors identified are supply-induced scarcity, demand-induced scarcity, and structural scarcity (Homer-Dixon, 1994). Supply-induced scarcity emerges when resources are reduced and degraded faster than they are replenished. While demand-induced scarcity arises out of population growth as against its source of livelihood, structural scarcity exists due to inequitable distribution of resources because of its concentration in the hands of a few, while the rest of the population suffers from resource inadequacy (Homer-Dixon, 1999). As people's quality of life diminishes due to decrease in environmental resources such as fertile land for farming and grazing, there is the tendency that competition may ensue, and if not mitigated could be unhealthy and fierce, and may lead to violent conflict. Eco-violence resulting to natural resources scarcity in this case connotes limited supply of grazing land, farmland and water which are vital to farmers and herders. Such environmental scarcity generates "severe social stresses within countries, helping to stimulate sub-national insurgencies, ethnic clashes and urban unrest" (Homer-Dixon, 1999:12). This assumption helps this paper to explain how and why farming communities who depend mainly on these natural resources fight over land and water resources. It also provides explanation about the structural violent nature of environmental scarcity, as the social crises it causes consequently fuels non-state conflict among affected communities. Thus, environmental scarcity theory is adopted to explain the herders-farmers conflicts in Nigeria because the conflicts are primarily viewed as a structural violence. Like every structural conflict, structural violence creates 'structural conditions for the emergence of serious social conflicts and fuels conditions such as environmental scarcity, struggle for limited resources, and unhealthy competition within communities.

One basic feature of Fulani herdsmen is migration necessitated by climate change. Within the context of Fulani herdsmen and farmer conflict, the eco-violence theory analytically captures and explains the intricate linkages that can develop between climate change and conflict. This is imperative because the sources of scarcity are in turn caused by population growth, economic





development, pollution, and climate change. Therefore, environmental resource scarcity will constrain agricultural and economic productivity, induce the disruption of economic livelihoods, worsen poverty, and cause migration.

The Environment as a Contextual Determinant of Herders Migration in Nigeria

Migration is among strategies device by individuals to cope with his existential changes as challenges prompt him to move from one environment to another in search of better opportunities to meet his basic livelihood needs (Lere, Ola & Temitope, 2017). The decision to move and choice of destination are often determined by goals and experience in one environment, either by virtue of the limitations, which it imposes or the available opportunities that abound elsewhere. Thus, migration can occur either because the environmental quality of a habitat has become unavoidable or the migrants' economic outcome is likely to be better in areas with greater resource availability. Migration may be short-term or long-term movement, and many factors shape such decision. The compelling roles of climate change and other environmental hazards such as desertification, deforestation, drought, inadequate rainfall, flooding, lack of water, and pollution are the determinants of herders movement in recent years.

Due to expansive desertification, drought and unchecked deforestation in northern Nigeria, the herdsmen naturally move out of their original abode to seek for greener pastures for their livestock as they are threatened by climatic and environmental changes as well as insecurity caused by Boko Haram insurgency, and the activities of cattle rustlers. These factors have intensified migration and violent clashes over grazing lands between local farmers and pastoral herdsmen, whom the farmers accuse of destruction of their crops and forceful appropriation of their lands.

Unfortunately, the end to the pull and push factors exacerbated by environmental changes are not in sight as many villages are disappearing in the northern Nigeria due to desert encroachment. This situation poses serious threat to existing resources because herders are forced to migrate into new terrains, thus making conflicts inevitable. However, many do not recognise the relevance of climate in this stiff competition hence varying interpretations have been ascribed to the motive of constant migration by the herdsmen. Some alluded to a plot to Islamisation and expansionist agenda. While the economic and climate change perspectives are not given proper attention, thereby infusing ethnic and religious animosity into the complex situation. With the continuous adverse effect of climate change and the rapid encroachment of desert over the years, global warming cause more severe desertification in the northern Nigeria, with additional two-thirds of the land turning into full or partial deserts, making arable land scarce, if not nonexistent (Odogwu, 2018). This will affect farmers and herders and may endanger peaceful coexistence, unity, and development in Nigeria.





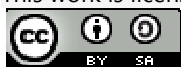
Climate Change and Conflict: Herders and Farmers Experience in Nigeria

Conflicts arising from herders' search of water and grazing land in communities have remained a "most important" problem faced by Fulani herdsmen in the course of tending their herds (Adekunle & Adisa, 2010:2). Apart from fierce competition over the available resources, it has created hatred and enmity between herders and farmers. The effect of this situation is the constant skirmish which has impacts on Nigeria's economy due to loss of lives, crops, property, as well as population displacement and ethnic rifts between the farming and herding communities (Analysis, 2016; Odunsi, 2018). Notwithstanding the high annual deaths emanating from Boko Haram insurgency but the annual deaths resulting from farmers-herders' conflict are equally high. However, while the Boko Haram insurgency has attracted the attention of both the Nigerian governments and the global community, little attention is given to herdsmen-related deaths (Analysis, 2016).

As the conflict between the herders and farmers is spreading rapidly across the country (Olawale, 2016), it has heightened ethnic and religious tension since the attacking Fulani herders were Muslims while the natives often killed were Christians. Thus, the problem has acquired ethno-religious colorations, prompting suspicion among the ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria. Besides, given the political undertones which often compound tenuous ethnic and religious interactions in the country, the implication of this security challenge for national integration and stability becomes worrisome as the trail of violence moves southward. This explains why herdsmen violence in the south-east has produced a conspiracy theory in which popular sentiments hold that the northerner-led government of President Muhammadu Buhari turns a blind eye to the Fulani herdsmen's massacre of non-Fulani natives in communities despite increasing casualties across the country (thisdaylive.com). The consequences of farmer-herder conflict to security and stability in Nigeria is not only evident in incessant carnage that has become a recurrent feature item in the media reports, it is also visible in its potential to aggravate existing ethno-religious and other divides in the country. With increasing demography, increase in livestock and expansion of peasant and mechanised farming, complicated by the depletion of land and water in the north, which compel herders to migrate southward and the seemingly threats of ocean surge and erosion in the southern regions and other social factors like harsh economic situation and high poverty rate, the competition between migrant herdsmen and farmers will continue to escalate unless serious attention is given to climate change effects in Nigeria.

The Implications of Herders-Farmers Conflicts in Nigeria

Herders-farmers' conflicts have far reaching implications for individuals, communities, states, and Nigeria as a nation. It affects agricultural development, food security, and mental wellbeing of the individuals (Abba & Usman, 2008). In all the affected communities and states, majority of the people killed were substantial part of the farming community. They had farmland or supported labour in agricultural activities. The instability caused by the incessant conflicts will gradually lead to acute food shortages for the communities that depend on subsistence farming,





and may disrupts not only the Fadama Agriculture Programme but also jeopardises huge financial investment by government, regional and global financial agencies participating in the Fadama projects nationwide (Ardo, 2004). Also, herders-farmers conflict has led to displacement of the farmers from their places of origin (Adebayo & Olaniyi, 2008) thereby becoming internally displaced persons (IDPs) with impact on farming activities.

Educationally, the children of the victims are forced out of school as many become orphans, and homeless with no one to cater for their educational needs. Low standard and levels of education are evident during violent conflicts such as herders and farmers (Adebayo & Olaniyi, 2008). This is because constant displacement owing to conflict will force the children out of school for sometimes as their parents cannot afford the school fees. This may lead to very low Human Capital Development Index, hence, the socio-economic consequences of herders-farmers conflicts are enormous (Abass, 2012).

Socially, the conflicts create some mistrust, tension and open confrontations between the farmers and herders thereby aggravating ethnic and religious tension between the north and south on one hand and between the Christians and Muslims on the other hand. This is because the herdsmen from the northern part of the country are predominantly Muslims, while most of the farmers are Christians. Also, the places where the conflicts have been dominant in the north resisted the Jihadist intrusion of Usman Dan Fodio (Anikwe, 2018). Thus, the ethnic cleansing and Islamic expansionist theory that has dominated the narrative of the conflict become relevant. Another effect of herders-farmers conflict is the possibility of unnecessary competition such as religious competition, power, etc. In rural areas, it has drawn natural resource conflict into the politico-religious arena (Yahaya, 2011). However, the more visible consequences are loss of lives and property, violent clashes, and migration of people to safer areas.

Lederach (1997 cited in Audu, 2013) identified three different effects of herders-farmers conflict in a deeply divided society. Firstly, cohesion and identity in a contemporary conflict tend to form within increasingly narrower lines than those that encompass national citizenship. In a conflicting society, people seek security by identifying with something close to their experience and over which they have control. In today's settings, that unit of identity may be clan, ethnicity, religion, geographic or regional affiliation, or a mixture of these. Secondly, one of the complexities found in many conflicting societies is the multiplicity of groups and collectivities vying for recognition and power, often in the form of armed movements. Thirdly, conflicts create a long-term nature of the conflicting groups' animosity, perception of enmity, and deep-rooted fear. This is coupled with the immediacy of having the enemy living virtually next door as in many areas of Bosnia, Somalia, Azerbaijan, Rwanda and Colombia (Audu, 2013). These consequences are present in Nigeria as evidenced in Kaduna, Benue, Plateau, Kebbi and Adamawa States. The conflicts have also led to tense and volatile inter-group relations amongst the various individuals and groups in the affected States and communities. This manifests in suspicion, mistrust, and animosity which are often misplaced. The pastoralists see the farmers as enemies of their collective survival and destiny, and vice versa. This creates an ambience of mutual suspicion and perpetual tension that threatens peaceful coexistence, security and stability.





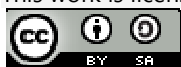
Economically, both the herders and farmers will experience reduction in income and output. While the farmers will record a decline in crops output due to indiscriminate bush burning and destruction of crops by cattle which lead to either partial or total loss of crops, the herders will lose livestock because of reprisal attack by the communities. Thus, Herders-farmers' conflicts disrupt and threaten the sustainability of pastoral production and agriculture in West Africa (Moritz, 2010; Ibrahim, Abdurrahman, Belel, & Umar, 2015). The effect on cattle and crop yield will affect farmers and herders' income with its grave consequences on the overall agricultural income (Cotula, Toulmin & Hesse 2004). This may affect both herders and farmers' savings, credit repayment, food security, and economic welfare of urban dwellers that depend on them for food and livestock supply thereby discouraging agricultural development. Resource-related conflicts are responsible for over 12 percent declines in per capita food production in sub-Saharan Africa which reinforces extreme poverty and hunger, destroys social status, and affects mostly the marginalised groups such as women and children (Nyong & Fiki, 2005). It has impacts on market development and economic growth by eroding trust among market actors, destroying productive assets, preventing trade and deterring investment.

Herders and farmers crises have not only exacerbated food scarcity in Nigeria and other affected countries due to loss of lives, animals, crops, and property, it has heightened insecurity. In terms of national security, resources that would have been used for education, health, agriculture and rural development are allocated to defence, and sometimes to maintain the IDPs in camps. The diverse consequences of conflicts can be humanitarian, economic, and social. The attendant security and livelihood crises threaten the collective subsistence and survival of the affected populations. It also becomes worrisome when government mechanisms and institutions for managing conflicts are not effective due to weak and politicised security system, fragile political systems and divisive societal relations. Increasing scarcity of renewable resources, or grievances over their governance and/or trans-boundary nature, drive, reinforce or compound existing stress factors and play a contributing role in the decision to resort to violence. Therefore, the quest to control or gain access to resources contributes to outbreak of violent conflict between herdsmen and farmers in many states in Nigeria. This is because during conflicts, some individuals and groups exploit resources as part of the conflict economy creating incentives to undermine efforts to build peace. This may lead to circle of violent conflicts.

Linking Land Use Act 1978 to Herders-Farmers Conflicts

Land resource is nature's free gift to humans and constitutes a feasible resource that is mostly used by individuals for different purposes. The allocation, acquisition and uses of this resource have generated great conflicts between states, communities and individuals, hence, various laws have been put in place to govern its ownership, control and uses in Nigeria. Among these laws is The Land Tenure law of 1962 which was repealed and replaced by the Land Use Decree (now Act) of 1978.

The Act was originally enacted to ease the difficulty and reduced the associated litigations various government encounter in land acquisition for public good, and also to govern and regulate how lands were owned, acquire and use. It has remained the nation's only land policy





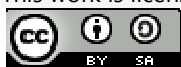
document (Udoekanem, Adoga & Onwumere, 2014). The Land Use Act "vested all land conceded in the territory of each State (except land bestowed in the Federal government or its agencies) solely in the Governor of the State, who would hold such land in trust for the people and would henceforth be responsible for allocation of land in all urban areas to individuals resident in the State and to organisations for residential, agricultural, commercial and other purposes while similar powers with respect to non-urban areas are conferred on Local Governments". As section 2, subsection 1 (a) and (b) of the Land Use Act of 1978 puts it that "all land in urban areas shall be under the control and management of the Governor of each State; and all other land shall, subject to this Act, be under the control and management of the Local Government, within the area of jurisdiction of which the land is situated". This implies that every land in urban areas is under the control and management of the governor of each state, while all other land is under the control and management of the local government, within the area of jurisdiction of which the land is situated. In the area of grazing and agricultural purposes, Section 6, subsection 1(a) and (b) of the Land Use Act asserts that "It shall be lawful for a Local Government in respect of land not in an urban area: to grant customary rights of occupancy to any person or organisation for the use of land in the Local Government Areas for agricultural, residential and other purposes".

This means individuals, families and communities ceased to be rightful owners of land, but are holding land in trust for the government at the local, state and federal levels. Besides, it granted equal rights and opportunities to Nigerians to live in any part of the country undeterred and regards all citizens as Nigerians and not Natives, unlike the previous Land Tenure Act of 1962 that did not spell this out (Rasak, 2011). This law empowers the Federal government to redraw or adjust the boundaries between states and communities.

The implication of this law with regard to farmers and herders conflict is that both antagonists have ceased to be legitimate and rightful owners of the land, as government mostly the state reserved the right to allocate land for any purpose to individuals or groups, map or carve out cattle routes, ranch lands and farmlands accordingly and envisage harmonious sharing of such resource and coexistence of various groups. The realization that according to law that no individuals or groups can claim exclusive ownership of land and its natural could be the basis for the constant skirmish over the ownership of land and right to access to grazing field and water by the herders who perceive land and water as a common resource. As reflected in its major provisions, the Land Use Act was enacted to nationalize land ownership in Nigeria as well as facilitate effective state control of the use and development of land (Udoekanem, Adoga & Onwumere, 2014).

The Nexus Between Migration and Conflict

From the foregoing discussions, it can be ascertained that the link between climate change and migration is difficult to ignore. Therefore, it becomes imperative to explain how migration can heighten the risk of conflict in and around the receiving community. Existing literature focusing on migration and conflict increasingly suggests that climate change and climate-related migration will not cause conflict independent of other important political and economic factors (Barnett &





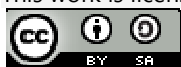
Adger, 2007; Raleigh & Urdal, 2007). Though it has been argued that no matter how significant migration may be in terms of causing conflict, it is still debatable (Salehyan, 2008). Climate change alone will not cause conflict but it has the potential to exacerbate conflict in conjunction with other factors. Thus, we examine some of the evidence that links both climate-induced and economic related migration to increase risk of conflict and animosity in other nations and Nigeria in particular.

Globally, migrants' presence evokes tension and resentment as the receiving communities both within and across international borders view them with suspicion and contempt which generate tension and conflict (Homer-Dixon, 1999) as has been the case in recent time in Western Europe between West African immigrants in France and Indian immigrants in Great Britain. Also, the Syrian refugee crisis in Europe is causing tension among the European Union (EU). Ethnic tensions between migrants and residents in receiving areas can be potential causes of conflicts because the migrants are viewed as the "other". This has implications both in terms of ethnic tensions and related socioeconomic tensions as migrants often compete for jobs with the locals.

In Nigeria, one of the foremost historical examples of non-climate related migration leading to increased tensions, conflict and violence is the Ife and Modakeke crisis. History reveals that the present day people of Modakeke migrated to Ile Ife due to the fall of old Oyo Empire in the 19th century. Albert (1999) argued that they must have been attracted to Ile-Ife by the historic image of the city as the aboriginal home of the Yoruba people (Orisun Yoruba). Thus, the conflict between the two is that between the "landlords" (the Ife) and the "strangers/tenants" (the Modakeke) (Albert 1999). It led to loss of lives and property.

Similarly, in Jos North Local Government of Plateau State, the struggle for economic cum political opportunities between the "indigenes" and the "settlers" is the effect of migration. Historically, the discovery of tin and columbite by the British on the Plateau, and the high fertility of the land attracted people from distant places to engage in mining and farming activities in the area. Besides, the favourable climatic condition of the Plateau coupled with abundant water and pasture attracted the Hausa/Fulani herders to the area. As the populations of the Hausa/Fulani grow in the area now known as Jos, competition for resources arise between them and Berom, who see themselves as the indigenes of Jos but view the Hausa/Fulani as settlers. This led to the Jos crisis. Also, the ethno-religious crisis in Kaduna State centred on the indigenes-settlers cum migrants dichotomy.

These cases are typical examples of how migration whether economic, political or climate-induced can trigger conflict, instability and civil wars. This goes beyond the individual level and extends to issues of national identity, particularly if the migrants cross international borders. Receiving countries may feel overwhelmed and threatened by the influx of people with different cultures. Generally, uncertainty about the future is a crucial factor that can cause violent conflict, and in some ways, perceived insecurity is more critical than actual insecurity. However, migrants do not pose a significant threat to political or economic power but perceived risk may be enough to provoke conflict.



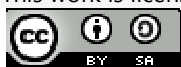


Summary and Conclusion

From the forgoing discussions, nexus exist between climate change, migration, and conflicts that arise between pastoralists and agriculturalists as illustrated by analysing the climatic impact on nomadic migration in Nigeria, especially in the north-central. Eco-violence/environmental scarcity theory was adopted to explain the relevance of climate change induced migration as a precursor of conflict, mostly due to the declining natural resources as against increase in the population and user of the resources. Literatures reviewed on the climate-migration-conflict nexus suggest that climate change has the potential to trigger migration which increases the risk of conflict occurrence. These linkages were examined within the contextual prisms of pastoral migration and farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria generally. The paper identified socio-contextual factors which amplify insecurity because of climate-related resource scarcity and changing nature of pastoral migration. Furthermore, it shows how scarcity exacerbated by climate change contributes to changes in migration patterns, resource struggle, and conflict between rural farmers and migrant herders in some communities, bringing to the fore its security implications in Nigeria.

While it admits that climate change is a reality, and has significant impacts on human security through its adverse effects on pastoral livelihoods, the paper argues that migration and conflict go beyond causal narrative. The combination of socio-historical factors like population, poverty, bad governance, Nigeria overlapping federalism, political and economic alienation of an ethnic or a social group and other political drivers that interact with climate variability and change provide a backdrop to farmers-herders conflict in Nigeria in the face of declining natural resources and growing competition for such resources. Conversely, considering Nigeria's population in Africa, addressing the problem of climate change and its associated effects could contribute greatly to solving similar problems in the continent. In conclusion, the paper recommends that:

- ❖ serious efforts should be made to reclaim areas lost to desert encroachment by planting trees and shrubs to revive the barren lands;
- ❖ to successfully manage migration-related conflicts arising from climate change and resource use in Nigeria, traditional dispute management strategies should be adopted and mainstreamed into national and development policies;
- ❖ the federal, state and local governments/communities should agree to establish passage for the pastoralists to watering points as this will reduce the conflicts;
- ❖ a law should be enacted to harmonise the country's national and sub-national water policies thereby improving the management of water resources for multiple users in the country as this will reduce water-related conflicts;
- ❖ realising that a major source of the conflict is lack of access to fodder for livestock, the Federal Government of Nigeria should promote the cultivation of fodder which would be sold to the pastoralists at a subsidised rate, hence, the pastoralists will not graze their animals in the cultivated areas;
- ❖ the security architecture of the country should be overhauled with climate change in mind, as well as giving more attention to the country's porous borders and non-existent database to determine authentic Nigerian citizens which will help to control illegal



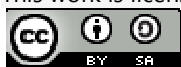


immigrants including the Fulani from other West African countries, who have been accused of perpetuating the killings in Nigeria; and

- ❖ there should be a synergy among the security agencies in intelligence gathering and information sharing to prevent any form of security breaches in Nigeria.

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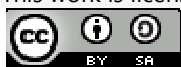


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